

# Hanum"n worship under the kings of the late Malla period in Nepal

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In the late Malla period (1482–1768 CE), the Kathmandu Valley was divided into the three independent kingdoms of Kathmandu, Patan, and Bhaktapur. The rulers of these kingdoms mainly worshipped the goddess Taleju. But the list of titles of many of these kings characterised them not only as Taleju's foremost servants but also as *hanumaddhvaja* (with Hanum"n in their banner).<sup>2</sup> That this title, which attests to the importance of the divinity at that time, was no mere flourish is borne witness to by surviving royal banners with an image of Hanum"n on them, such as the one (Fig. 1) preserved in the National Museum of Nepal, Kathmandu. It features a fierce-looking, two-armed Hanum"n in militant stance.

A painting completed in 1704 shows the standard of a king surmounted by a figure of a two-armed Hanum"n standing in militant stance with his arms spread out (Figs. 2a–b).<sup>3</sup> The standard featuring the hero Hanum"n is well-suited for a king, since it promises victory in battle. Hanum"n banners have a fairly long history: the twelfth-century *Narapatijayacaryāśvarodaya* (chapter 5, stanzas 138–191), for example, describes rituals for Hanum"n which involve the making of a banner (*patākā*) featuring Hanum"n's image and *mantra*, for purposes of protection and the destruction of an enemy's army. The P"ava Arjuna is also known by the epithet 'monkey-bannered'.

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Kashinath Tamot for help with reading the inscriptional material. I would further like to thank Gerd Mevissen, Manik Bajracharya, Iain Sinclair, Philip Pierce, Purushottam Lochan Shrestha, Alexis Sanderson, P"er-D"niel Sz"nt, Suresh Man Lakhe, Doris Jinhuang and Ulrich von Schroeder for helpful suggestions and/or for providing photographs. I also thank Dr. Claudio Cicuzza and the Lumbini International Research Institute for their support.

<sup>2</sup> See REGMI 1965–1966, part 2: 395 for more information on the titles used by the kings of the late Malla period of Nepal.

<sup>3</sup> The painting is reproduced here from PAL 2003: 85. It is described in PAL 2003: 84, and the text inscribed on it is transcribed, translated, and commented on in PAL 2003: 283.



**Fig. 1** A Hanumān banner preserved in the National Museum of Nepal, Kathmandu. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.



*Fig. 2a* A painting showing a royal standard surmounted by a figure of Hanumān in the upper left corner. After PAL 2003: 85.



Fig. 2b Detail:  
Hanumān

(*kapidhvaja*)<sup>4</sup> since his standard in the battle of Kuruk'etra is said to have featured Hanum'n. Hanum'n standards were also used by Harihara I and Bukka I, the founding kings of Vijayanagara, in the fourteenth century.<sup>5</sup>

But Hanum'n was not only featured on mobile banners. In one case his effigy was placed on a column (also called *dhvaja*) and set up on a roof, and in another case on metal banners positioned on either side of finials (*gajura*). King Prat'amalla of Kathmandu (r. 1641–1674) installed stone columns (*dhvaja*) on the roofs of the four corners of the Mohan courtyard in his palace in 1655.<sup>6</sup> The columns are surmounted by sculptures of successively Hanum'n (Fig. 2c),<sup>7</sup> a fish,

<sup>4</sup> This epithet is found, for example, in *Bhagavadgītā* 1.20. The P's/ava standard with a figure of Hanum'n is also depicted in art. It can be seen, for example, in a painting in a sixteenth-century illustrated Nepalese manuscript (*kalāpustaka*) illustrating scenes from the *Mahābhārata*. The manuscript is preserved in the University Library, Cambridge (Add. 864; see PAL 1970: 98 with Fig. 65). On beliefs associated with the *kapidhvaja*, see THAPLIYAL 1983: 71.

<sup>5</sup> See LUTGENDORF 2007: 61 for more information. LUTGENDORF (2007: 84) also refers to the use of Hanum'n standards by the Dadu Panthi Nagas in the second half of the eighteenth century.

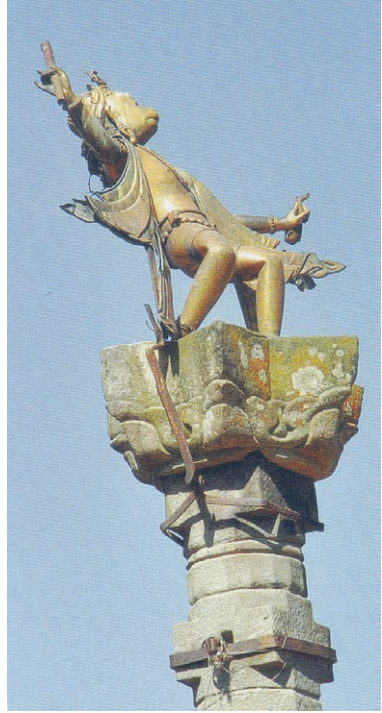
<sup>6</sup> The chronicle *Nepālikabhūpavaṃśāvalī* (vol. 1: 106) refers to the columns collectively as *koṭidhvajas*. The passage reads: 'Since Kav'ndra (Prat'pa Malla) was accomplished in all the teachings, he, following the 'stras, collected four crores of wealth, buried them under Mohana Coka, that he had built according to the *Vāstucakra*, and secured it with four *koṭidhvajas*. He invoked Hanum'n, Matsya, Garu/a, and a lion in the *koṭidhvajas* in order to pacify the small-pox deity and to prevent accidents, and various misfortunes and dangers from various ghosts. The expression *koṭidhvajas* may be derived from the fact that the *dhvajas* were set up after the performance of a ritual termed *koṭyāhutiyañña*, which involved the offering of ten million (*koṭi*) oblations (*āhuti*) into the fire and took more than one week to complete.

The date of the setting up of the columns surmounted by the figure of Hanum'n and a fish is recorded as the thirteenth day of the dark half of the month of *mārga* in N.S. 775 (see inscriptions no. 23 and 24 in VAJR) C) RYA 1976: 212). It is equivalent to Tuesday, January 5, 1655.

<sup>7</sup> The column surmounted by a figure of Hanum'n is termed *hanūma<d>dhvaja* (see inscription no. 23 in VAJR) C) RYA 1976: 212) and referred to as *hanumanta-dhvaja* in manuscripts of the later ritual text in the Newari language titled *Mohana-*

a Garu/a, and a lion and can still be seen on the palace roof. (However, the two shorter columns surmounted one each by a four-armed Hanum"n and a fish, which are installed on either side of the Hanum"n/hok" palace, right behind the statues of two lions mounted one each by !iva and P"rvat\*, are likely much later, possibly nineteenth-century additions to the palace design.) Small figures of a four-armed Hanum"n (**Figs. 3a–3b**) surmount the metal banners set up on either side of the three finials (*gajura*) on the roof of the Golden Gate (*sundhokā*) of the Bhaktapur Palace, constructed (or rather embellished) by King Ra\$a-jitamalla in 1754. It is uncertain whether these banners were part of the original design. It is possible that the two figures of the five-headed Hanum"n (**Figs. 16–17**) commissioned by King Bh(pat\*ndramalla and his son, Ra\$a-jitamalla, discussed below were once installed here.

It is very likely that the Hanum"n figures on the roofs of the royal palaces of Kathmandu and Bhaktapur were meant to serve an apotropaic purpose. The Hanum"n statue (**Fig. 4a–b**) placed on the roof<sup>8</sup> of the (former) royal palace in Patan must have functioned in a similar capacity. Oral tradition, however, associates the statue with a different purpose. It is said<sup>9</sup> that King Bh(pat\*ndramalla of Bhaktapur (r. 1696–1722) pretended to offer his help with the restoration and improvement of buildings of the royal palace in Patan, where King Yoganarendra-



**Fig. 2c** The column (*dhvaja*) surmounted by a figure of *Hanumān* at the *Hanūmāndhokā* Royal Palace in Kathmandu. Photograph courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Kathmandu.

*cukayā hityāta busāadhanasa āhuti biya vidhi.*

<sup>8</sup> We do not know whether the statue was originally placed on a column or metal banner. A photograph taken by Kurt Boeck in 1899 and exhibited in Gallery H (Historic Views of Nepal) of the Patan Museum shows the sculpture without a pedestal in its current position on the palace roof.

<sup>9</sup> For this account, see HAGM†LLER 2003: 31.



*Fig. 3a* The Golden Gate of the Bhaktapur Palace. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.



*Fig. 3b* Detail: The figures of a four-armed Hanumān surmounting the metal banners on either side of the three finials on the roof of the Golden Gate of the Bhaktapur Palace. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.



**Fig. 4a** *The royal palace in Patan with the Golden Window, Golden Gate, and the Hanumān statue on the roof. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.*



*Fig. 4b* Detail: The Hanumān statue on the roof.

malla (r. 1684–1705) ruled. Allegedly, he presented Yoganarendramalla with the gilt image of Hanum"n, which he arranged to have placed on the upper ridge of the west wing of the Patan palace above the king's bedroom for destructive purposes. It was believed that this statue actually represented the heavenly body Saturn (*śani*) and thus functioned as a source of ill fortune.<sup>10</sup>

It is evident from these examples that Hanum"n banners and standards were popular in the late Malla period both in mobile form and as installations on the roofs of palaces for protective purposes. With the same goal in mind, the Malla kings set up two- or four-armed Hanum"n statues near the entrances of their palaces and placed sculptures of the Tantric five-headed form of the deity on lintels of entranceways and at the apex of tympana.

The aforementioned King Prat"pamalla of Kathmandu, a Tantric practitioner and great patron of the arts, set up two statues of Hanum"n close to his palace in 1672. One of these statues is found at the left side of a gate (**Fig. 5a-b**). At a later time, the royal palace was named after this gate (*ḍhokā*) with the Hanum"n figure and so came to be known as the Han(m"n/hok" Royal Palace. For ritual purposes, however, another gate marked by two lions (the lion gate [*siṃhaḍhokā*]), which leads to the Taleju Temple, is used.

The Hanum"n statue next to the palace gate<sup>11</sup> is placed atop a column of about two meters in height. Layers of vermilion paste are regularly applied to it, as is customary in popular worship, making it difficult to discern the iconographic features (**Fig. 5a**). An older photograph of the statue<sup>12</sup> (**Fig. 5b**) shows the statue's facial features more clearly. In this location close to the gate, Hanum"n was considered a powerful guardian deity, a function well-attested in earlier times.<sup>13</sup> The nineteenth-century chronicle *Nepālika-bhūpavaṃśāvalī* (vol. 1: 106) specifies that the statue of Vajaraṃga (Hanum"n)

<sup>10</sup> HAGM†LLER (2003: 31) asserts that Œa's restoration revealed, the statue is held upright with a bar of iron and iron indeed represents the planet Saturn.Œ

<sup>11</sup> The inscription on the statue's pedestal (see no. 33 in VAJR) C) RYA 1976: 224–225) specifies the date of installation as the eleventh/twelfth day in the dark half of the month of *vaiśākha* in N.S. 792. This date is equivalent to Monday, May 23, 1672. The inscription is covered by the deity's long robe. A part of it is reproduced in a photograph published in ARY) L 2014: 17, but details cannot be discerned.

<sup>12</sup> The photograph which circulated on a postcard and is also reproduced in ARY) L 2014: 16 was taken in 1908 (ARY) L 2014: 15).

<sup>13</sup> For a brief discussion of Hanum"n's role as a gatekeeper, see LUTGENDORF 2007: 41 and 60.



*Fig. 5a* The Hanumān statue near the gate of the Hanūmāṇdhokā Royal Palace in Kathmandu. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.

had been installed at the gate Ān order to prevent all the dangers. The inscription on the statue's pedestal<sup>14</sup> summarises as the three objectives of Hanumān worship the destruction of the enemy, victory in battle, and domestic protection when it states: Ān frightful wars [he] brings destruction on the enemy and victory to us and defends the home.<sup>15</sup> The same inscription (with one minor *varia lectio*) is also found on the pedestal of the second statue of Hanumān<sup>16</sup> (Fig. 6a-b), which was installed by King Pratāpamalla on the southwestern side of the palace, opposite the Big Bell, on the same day. Currently the statue's pedestal is not visible (Fig. 6a), but



*Fig. 5b A photograph of the Hanumān statue near the gate of the Hanūmāṇḍhokā Royal Palace in Kathmandu taken in 1908. Photograph: Private collection.*

<sup>14</sup> See inscription no. 33 in VAJR) C) RYA 1976: 224-225. See also the discussion of the inscription in PANT 1964: 26 and SLUSSER 1982, vol. 1: 192. The relevant part of the inscription reads: *viśamasamgrāmaśatrusamhāraṇaṇe jayati grhe rakṣati*.

<sup>15</sup> The translation is quoted from SLUSSER 1982, vol. 1: 192.

<sup>16</sup> See also the discussion of the inscription in PANT 1964: 26.

the inscription can clearly be discerned in an older photograph (**Fig. 6b**).

In addition to Hanum"n, Prat"pamalla installed yet another deity for protection close to the palace gate in 1673. The king set up a statue of Narasi5 ha (**Fig. 7**), which is now found immediately to the left after passing through the gate and entering N"salcok. Narasi5 ha is shown in fierce form in the act of disembowelling the demon Hira\$yaka%pu. An inscription on the pedestal<sup>17</sup> states that the king had participated in a dance-drama. At that time Narasi5 ha entered the king's dance costume and did not leave. For this reason (i.e., to dismiss the deity) the stone sculpture was installed. However, it is likely that the king had also intended to install the sculpture to function as a gatekeeper. The Hanum"n statue at the palace gate and the Narasi5 ha in N"salcok must have originally formed a pair of guardian deities before the palace gate was relocated when the palace was renovated. Statues of Narasi5 ha and Ga\$e%a guarded the entrance to the royal palace of Patan. A figure of Hanum"n (**Fig. 8**) was added later, following the example of King Prat"pamalla of Kathmandu (RAU 1984: 259). It is a simple two-armed Hanum"n, kneeling on one knee and displaying the gestures of protection and wish-granting. Old photographs show Narasi5 ha and Ga\$e%a, placed on pedestals of about the same height, flanking the palace entrance.<sup>18</sup> Next to the statue of Ga\$e%a, the sculpture of Hanum"n, which is obviously a later addition, is installed on a pedestal of a different height and design.<sup>19</sup> Since then, possibly after the 1934 earthquake, the sculptures were rearranged and the Hanum"n statue was placed between Narasi5 ha and Ga\$e%a, which is the arrangement we see today.

<sup>17</sup> The date of installation is recorded in the inscription on the pedestal (see no. 36 in VAJR) C) RYA 1976: 230E231) as the eighth day of the dark half of the month of *āṣāḍha* in N.S. 793. The date corresponds to Friday, July 7, 1673.

<sup>18</sup> See the photograph taken by Ganesh Man Chitrakar around 1900 and exhibited in the Patan Museum and the photograph taken by Dirgha Man Chitrakar around 1920, reproduced in HEIDE 1997: 34.

<sup>19</sup> The statues of Ga\$e%a and Hanum"n can also be seen in an old photograph in LE BON 1893: Fig. 388.



**Fig. 6a** The Hanumān statue opposite the Big Bell near the Hanūmāṇdhokā Royal Palace in Kathmandu (2015). Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.



*Fig. 6b* An older photograph of the Hanumān statue opposite the Big Bell near the Hanūmāndhokā Royal Palace in Kathmandu. Photograph courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Kathmandu.



**Fig. 7** The Narasiṃha statue at the entrance to Nāsalcok of the Hanūmāṇḍhokā Royal Palace in Kathmandu. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.



**Fig. 8** *The statues of Narasiṃha and Hanumān in front of the royal palace, Patan. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.*

King Bh(pat\*ndramalla of Bhaktapur also set up sculptures of Hanum"n and Narasi5 ha (**Fig. 9a**) at the entrance to his palace. The year of the installation, recorded in a stone inscription, is equivalent to 1698.<sup>20</sup> The iconography of the Hanum"n sculpture (**Fig. 9b**) is more complex than that of the sculptures installed at the entrances to the royal palaces of Kathmandu and Patan. The four-armed, fierce-looking deity, endowed with sharp teeth, is standing in militant stance on an animated corpse whose position of the arms and curls of hair are reminiscent of Garu/ a. (Copies of the two statues were installed at the entrance gate to BhaktapurÕ Tekh" Pokhar\* in circa 2012. Here the head of the Hanum"n statueÕ mount resembles that of an animated corpse rather than that of a Garu/ a.) The stone inscription records

<sup>20</sup> The exact date of the stone inscription corresponds to February 9, 1698 (VAIDYA & SHRESTHA 2002: 91 and 152Ð158 [inscription 6 in the Appendix]). The inscription is translated in part in the chronicle *Nepālikabhūpavaṃśāvalī* (vol. 1: 93Ð95).



**Fig. 9a** The statues of Hanumān and Naraśiṃha in front of the (former) Mālatīcok of the Bhaktapur royal palace. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.

details of the regular worship of the two statues that Bh(ṣatāṇḍramalla instituted. In association with Ugramalla, he made a land grant to a newly formed trust or *guthi*. Such *guthis*, defined as 'association<s> of New'rs of the same caste for the performance of an agreed religious or social act' (CLARK 1957: 176), have played an important role in the social life of the Newar community. From the annual proceeds the *guthi* was obligated to purchase the material needed for the regular worship of the deities and remunerate the priest and his assistants. The services to be performed include the application of a fixed quantity of oil on the sculptures of Hanum'n and Naraśiṣ ha. Such detailed prescriptions are of great interest, since they provide a window onto the religious practices of the Newar community at this time.



**Fig. 9b** Detail: The sculpture of Hanumān. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.

In addition to setting up statues of two- or four-armed images of Hanum"n as gatekeepers in front of the entrances of their royal palaces, the Malla kings placed the Tantric five-headed form of the deity on lintels of entrances leading to the temple of the goddess Taleju and at the apex of tympana above the doors of the temples of the goddess.

A small sculpture of the five-headed Hanum"n is carved on the lintel below the wooden arched gateway (*torana*) leading to the temple of the goddess Taleju in M(lcok of the (former) Bhaktapur royal palace (**Fig. 10a-b**). The *torana* was made by King Jit"mitramalla in 1694.<sup>21</sup> Some details of the iconography cannot be clearly discerned and the iconography of the five-headed Hanum"n will be discussed later.

A small wooden image of Hanum"n (**Fig. 11b**) is found in the unusual position above the tympanum of the lion gate (*siṃhaḍhokā*) (**Fig. 11a**) of the Hanum"n/hok" Royal Palace in Kathmandu, which is the entrance leading to the Taleju Temple. This image is a replacement of an older image which replaced yet older images. I assume that, as in Bhaktapur, the original image was placed on the lintel of the lion gate but was moved to its current location during renovation efforts. This image has only eight arms and four heads, which is likely the result of a mistake of the artist who was commissioned to prepare a replacement on the basis of a defective sculpture which had lost two arms and one of its five heads. VAJR) C) RYA (1976: 83) assumed the figure to be Kum"ra. However, a close examination shows that the central head is that of a monkey and the other heads are those of Garu/a, Narasi5 ha, and Var"ha. Above the Hanum"n figure a *kīrtimukha* is seen. It is hard to assign a date to this Hanum"n since the figure has been painted and is likely to have been replaced more than once in the course of renovations.

The Tantric five-headed Hanum"n images in the important position on lintels of entranceways to the temples of the goddess Taleju in the palaces of Bhaktapur and Kathmandu appear to function as protectors of the goddess. They functioned in the same capacity when placed at the apex of tympana above the doors of Taleju temples.

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<sup>21</sup> The exact date of the tympanum is recorded as Saturday, the ninth day of the dark half of the month of *mārga* in N.S. 815 (see VAIDYA & SHRESTHA 2002: 164, inscription 13). This date corresponds to Saturday, December 11, 1694.



**Fig. 10a** The tympanum and lintel of a door leading to the Taleju Temple in Bhaktapur's Mūlcok. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.



**Fig. 10b** Detail: The five-headed Hanumān on the lintel. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.

Thus, the five-headed Hanumān is featured at the apex of the tympanum (**Fig. 12a**) of the eastern door of the Taleju Temple in M(1 courtyard<sup>22</sup> of the Han(mān/hok" Royal Palace. The figure (**Fig. 12b**) has ten arms (two of them are hardly discernible) and treads on an animated corpse (*pre-ta/vetāla*). The five heads are those of a monkey (main head), an eagle (Garuḍa, left), a boar (Varaha, right) and topped by that of a lion (for Narasimha) and surmounted by what seems to be a horse (or Hayagrīva) head. A comparison with other images shows that the heads of the five-headed form of Hanumān can be arranged in one, two, or three tiers, and one head may also be positioned at the back. The iconography of this composite form suggests an integration of Viṣṇu Garuḍa mount and three of Viṣṇu *avatāras* with the figure of Hanumān. While this five-headed

<sup>22</sup> The location of the image is indicated in DHANAM! AM! ER 1979: 157 and the entire tympanum depicted in plate 135.



**Fig. 11a** The lion gate of the Hanūmāṇḍhokā Royal Palace in Kathmandu.  
Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.



**Fig. 11b** Detail: The four-headed and eight-armed Hanumān above the tympanum of the lion gate of the Hanūmāṇḍhokā Royal Palace in Kathmandu. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.



**Fig. 12a** *The tympanum of the eastern door of the Taleju Temple, Hanūmāṇḍhokā Royal Palace, Kathmandu. Photograph courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Kathmandu.*



**Fig. 12b** Detail: The five-headed Hanumān. Photograph courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Kathmandu.

form with the topmost head of a horse (*haya*) is recorded in descriptions in printed texts,<sup>23</sup> unedited texts in manuscript form from Nepal reveal a variant of this iconography according to which the top head is that of a donkey (*khara*).<sup>24</sup> More manuscript material would need to be examined to deter-

<sup>23</sup> For a detailed iconographic description, see the following passage attributed to the *Hanumadgahvara* in *Śrīvidyārṇavatāntra*, vol. 2, p. 766, 15E24:

*pañcavaktraṃ mahābhīmaṃ tripañcanayanair yutam |*  
*bāhubhir daśabhir yuktaṃ sarvakāmyārthasiddhidam ||*  
*pūrvaṃ tu vānaraṃ vaktraṃ koṭisūryasamaprabham |*  
*daṃṣṭrākaraḥlavadaṇaṃ bhrukuṭīkuṭilekṣaṇam ||*  
*atraiva dakṣiṇaṃ vaktraṃ nārasimhaṃ mahādbhutam |*  
*atyugratejovapuṣaṃ bhīṣaṇaṃ bhayanāśanam ||*  
*pāścimaṃ gāruḍaṃ vaktraṃ vajratuṇḍaṃ mahābalaṃ |*  
*sarvarogapraśamaṇaṃ viśaroganivāraṇam ||*  
*uttaraṃ saukaraṃ vaktraṃ kṛṣṇaṃ dīptaṃ nabhonibham |*  
*pātālānilabhettāraṃ jvararoganikṛntanam ||*  
*ūrdhvaṃ hayānanaṃ ghoram dānavāntakaraṃ param |*  
*ekavaktreṇa vipreṇḍra tārakākhyam mahābalaṃ ||*  
*kurvantaṃ śaraṇaṃ tasya sarvaśatruharaṃ param |*  
*khaḍgaṃ triśūlaṃ khaṭvāṅgaṃ pāśam aṅkuṣaparvatam ||*  
*dhruvamusṭigadāmuṇḍaṃ daśabhir munipuṅgava |*  
*etāny āyudhajālāni dhārayantaṃ yajāmahe ||*  
*pretāsanopaviṣṭaṃ taṃ sarvābharaṇabhūṣitam |*  
*divyamālyāmbaṛadharaṃ divyagandhānulepanam ||*  
*sarvāścāryamayam devam anantaṃ viśvato mukham | ...*

The same passage, with some variants, is found in the *Śrītattvanidhi*, where it is ascribed to the *Sudarśanasamhitā*; see *Śrītattvanidhi* 1 (*Viṣṇunidhi*, no. 72 [p. 59]) and *Śrītattvanidhi* 2 (vol. 2: *Viṣṇunidhi*; stanzas 188E195; no. 114; p. 36 [text], pp. 104E105 [translation]; fol. 85A/3 [manuscript painting]). NAGAR (2004, vol. 1: 307) cites a part of this description (with variants) from a manuscript of the *Pañcamukha-hanumatkavaca* (manuscript no. 5035 in the Ranabiresvara Library, Jammu); the manuscript is reproduced in NAGAR 2004: vol. 2: 493E494.

<sup>24</sup> See the *Hanūbhairavadevārcanavidhi* ascribed to the *Vaiḥāyana Samhitā*. This text prescribes the performance of a fire ritual (*homa*) involving offerings of different kinds of meat and liquor for each of the five heads of the deity. I would like to thank PŽer-D†niel Sz†nt—for sending me a transcript of the manuscript. The donkey head instead of the horse head is also specified in the description of the five-headed Hanum"n in the manuscript *Navarātrapūjāvidhi*, which describes the Han(bhairava-p(j" (fols. 26v11E29v5) as embedded in the Kaum"r†p(j" of Navar"tra. I would like to thank Alexis Sanderson for providing a copy of the manuscript. VAJR) C) RYA (1976: 98) also mentions an unpublished manuscript in a private collection according to which the topmost head of the five-headed Hanum"n is a donkeyQ.

mine how widespread this iconography was and whether it is limited to specific ritual contexts; this is, however, beyond the scope of the present paper. Moreover, in works of art, a horse's head cannot be distinguished easily from a donkey's head. I assume that the horse head became a standard in the iconography of this deity because it is more auspicious and was already a familiar iconographic feature of Hayagrīva. Similarly, Rāvaṇa's tenth head is either described or depicted as that of a horse or of a donkey.

A metal figure of the five-headed Hanumān is also seen at the apex of the tympanum (**Fig. 13a**) of the Golden Door of the Taleju shrine in Mālcok of Patan's royal palace. The tympanum was made by King Oddhinarasiḥa-malla (r. 1715–1717) in 1716.<sup>25</sup> The figure of Hanumān (**Fig. 13b**) is a replacement prepared around December 2012 on the basis of an older photograph,<sup>26</sup> in which the position of the figure on the tympanum can be discerned clearly, but not all of the iconographic details. The original image along with the others on the central panel of the tympanum was stolen in the 1970s.

The five-headed Hanumān is also found among the sculptures in the sunken stepped fountain (*hiti*) built by Pratāpamalla in 1652 in the (Man)mohan courtyard, the residential courtyard of the Malla kings (**Fig. 14a**). It is, however, possible that the sculpture was not part of the original group of deities installed in the fountain but was brought here later from another location. The sculpture is damaged but the missing details may be gleaned from a line drawing (**Fig. 14b**) in a circa nineteenth-century concertina-type manuscript catalogued as *Nānāstotrācitrāsaṃgraha*, which either copies this sculpture or shows a similar iconographic type. This is clearly a fierce (*ugra*) form, as indicated by the garland of severed heads. The sculpture is framed by a rim of skulls and one of flames.

The same king built a special temple for the deity (**Fig. 15**) in his palace in Kathmandu in circa 1655.<sup>27</sup> This temple (which is only accessible to the

<sup>25</sup> An inscription on the base of the *torāṇa* (see REGMI 1965/1966, part 4: 263, no. 122) records the dedication of the golden tympanum by King Oddhinarasiḥa-malla to his *iṣṭadevatā* on the first day of the bright half of the month of *āśvina* in N.S. 836. This date corresponds to Wednesday, September 16, 1716.

<sup>26</sup> The photograph, taken by N.R. Banerjea between 1966 and 1972, is exhibited in the Patan Museum.

<sup>27</sup> See VAJR C) RYA 1976: 97. The exact date of the construction of the temple is unknown.



**Fig. 13a** The tympanum of the Golden Door of the Taleju shrine, Mūlcok, Patan Palace. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.



**Fig. 13b** Detail: The five-headed Hanumān at the apex of the tympanum.  
Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.



**Fig. 14a** The sculpture of the five-headed Hanumān in the stepped fountain in Mohancok in the Hanūmāṇḍhokā Royal Palace, Kathmandu. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.



**Fig. 14b** A line drawing of the five-headed Hanumān in a circa nineteenth-century concertina-type manuscript catalogued as N"n"stotrācitrāsā5 graha. Photograph courtesy of Rajan Shrestha.



*Fig. 15 The five roofs of the Pañcamukhahanumān Temple, Hanūmāṇdhokā Royal Palace in Kathmandu. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.*

officiating priest) stands out because of its circular structure with five superimposed roofs.

A beautifully carved stone sculpture of the five-headed Hanum"n was noticed inside Kum"r\*çok,<sup>28</sup> a courtyard of the Bhaktapur Palace which is inaccessible to the public.

Three important inscribed and dated copper-gilt figures of the five-headed Hanum"n are also associated with the kings of Bhaktapur. The first one (**Fig. 16a**) was recently auctioned at Bonhams.<sup>29</sup> The inscription<sup>30</sup> records that King Bh(pat\*ndramalla dedicated the sculpture on the occasion of a specific ritual, the *siddhāgni-kotyāhuti-yajña*, in 1702. A ritual manual confirms the date of the performance of a *siddhāgni-kotyāhuti* sacrifice (*yajña*) on the occasion of the consecration of the Nyatapola Temple at Taumadhi Tole in Bhaktapur. The ritual, which entails the offering of ten million oblations into the fire, started on Sunday, the ninth day of the bright half of the month of *jyeṣṭha* (the date also specified in the inscription of the Hanum"n statue) and continued for 48 days (VAIDYA 1990: 76).

The second one (**Fig. 16b**) was previously on sale at Sotheby's<sup>31</sup> but its current whereabouts are unknown. According to the description in the cata-

<sup>28</sup> See the detailed description in DEVA 1984: 61 and the mention in VAIDYA & SHRESTHA 2002: 45 and 89. VAIDYA & SHRESTHA (2002: 89) note that the sculpture is located on the northwestern side of the open verandah (*dalān*).

DEVA (1984: 66 and 67) also describes two four-armed (apparently one-headed) Hanum"n figures in the Kumaricok. Three four-armed Hanum"n statues are found in the Mah"deva Temple in Sundar\*çok of the Han(m"n/hok" Royal Palace, Kathmandu; a photograph of one of them is reproduced in ARY L 2014: 16.

<sup>29</sup> The sculpture was purchased by William O. Thweatt in Kathmandu between 1958 and 1962. It was auctioned by Sotheby's New York on September 24, 2004 (lot 74) and subsequently became part of the collection of Dr. Helga Wall-Apelt, Florida. It was again auctioned by James D. Julia Auctioneers, Maine, on March 23, 2015 (lot 184) and by Bonham's on March 13, 2017 (lot 3049). For an image, see also Himalayan Art Resources, item no. 2351 (<http://www.himalayanart.org/items/2351>; accessed July 20, 2017).

<sup>30</sup> The text inscribed on the shaft reads: (*siddhi* sign) *svasti || śrīśrījayabhūpatī-ndramalladevasana siddhāgni kotyāhuti yajñayātaṃ dayakā || samvat 822 jyeṣṭha sudi 9 śubha ||*

Āhail! (This sculpture) was made by the Twice-Blessed victorious King Bh(pat\*ndramalla on the ninth (day) of the bright (half of the month) of *jyeṣṭha* in *samvat* 822 for (the occasion of) the *siddhāgni-kotyāhuti-yajña*. Let it be well. Ó

<sup>31</sup> The five-headed Hanum"n statue was offered for sale at Sotheby's London on April 4, 1990, lot 57. It had previously been offered at Sotheby's New York on December 18, 1981, lot 209.

logue, the inscription on the long shaft of the sculpture records the dedication of this statue in the temple of the Goddess Taleju in Bhaktapur by King Bh(pat\*ndramalla in 1706.<sup>32</sup>

The inscription<sup>33</sup> on the third sculpture (**Fig. 17**), which is now in the Patan Museum,<sup>34</sup> records that King Bh(pat\*ndramalla's son, Ra\$ajitamalla, set up the sculpture on the Golden Gate of the Bhaktapur Palace in 1754. The year 1754 is also commonly assumed to be the year in which Ra\$ajitamalla constructed (or rather, embellished) the Golden Gate. The Hanum"n figure appears to be a copy of the sculpture commissioned by his father. Both sculptures wear a garland of severed human heads and are treading on an animated corpse. It is possible that these two Hanum"n figures with their long shafts were placed on the roof the Golden Gate, possibly in place of the two four-armed Hanum"n statues referred to in the beginning of this paper.

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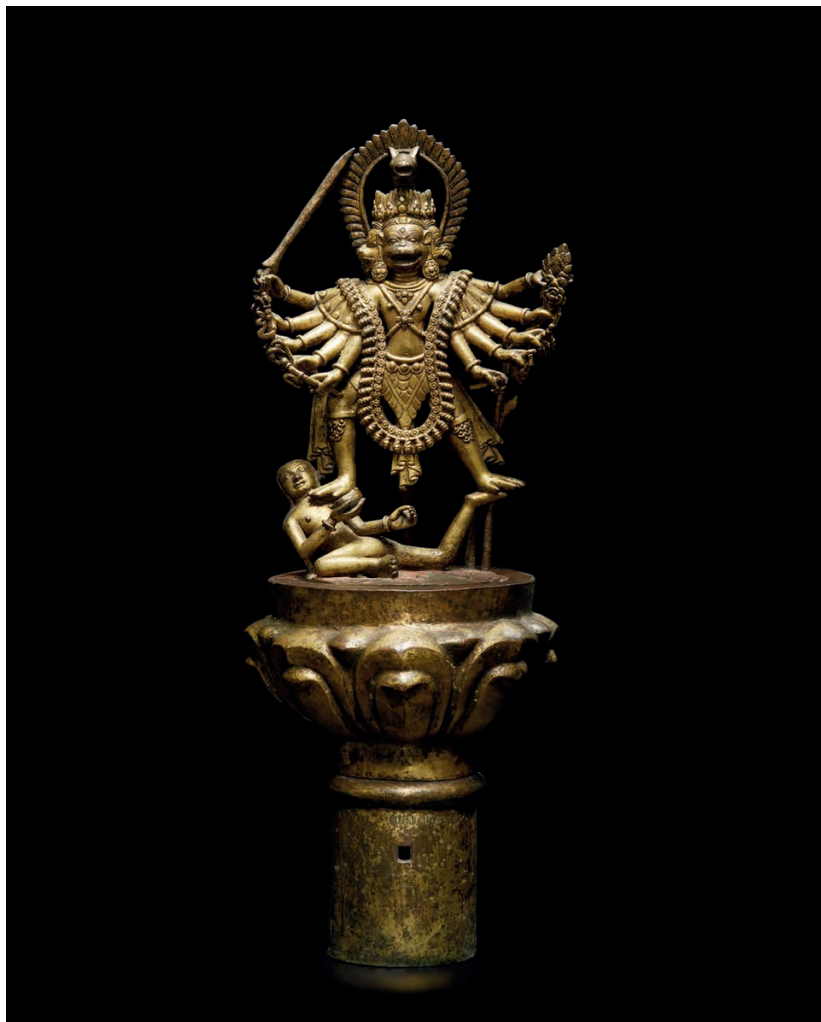
<sup>32</sup> Only a part of the inscription can be discerned in the photograph published in Sotheby's catalogue. It reads: (*Bhūpatīndrama*)llasana dayakā, saṃ 826 jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa catu(rdaśī) (misread in the text of the catalogue as *āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa* ...). The date was erroneously converted to 1708 in Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc [1981], no. 209. (This sculpture) was made by King (Bh(pat\*ndrama))lla on the four(teen)th (day) of the dark (half of the month) of *jyeṣṭha* in (N.)S. 826.

The description in the catalogue erroneously specifies the eighth day of the dark half of the fifth month of the year N.S. 826 as the date of the consecration of the sculpture. The correct date is likely the fifth day of the dark half of the month of *jyeṣṭha* in the year 826, which is equivalent to Wednesday, June 30, 1706. The eighth day of the dark half of the month of *jyeṣṭha* of the same year would be equivalent to July 3, 1706.

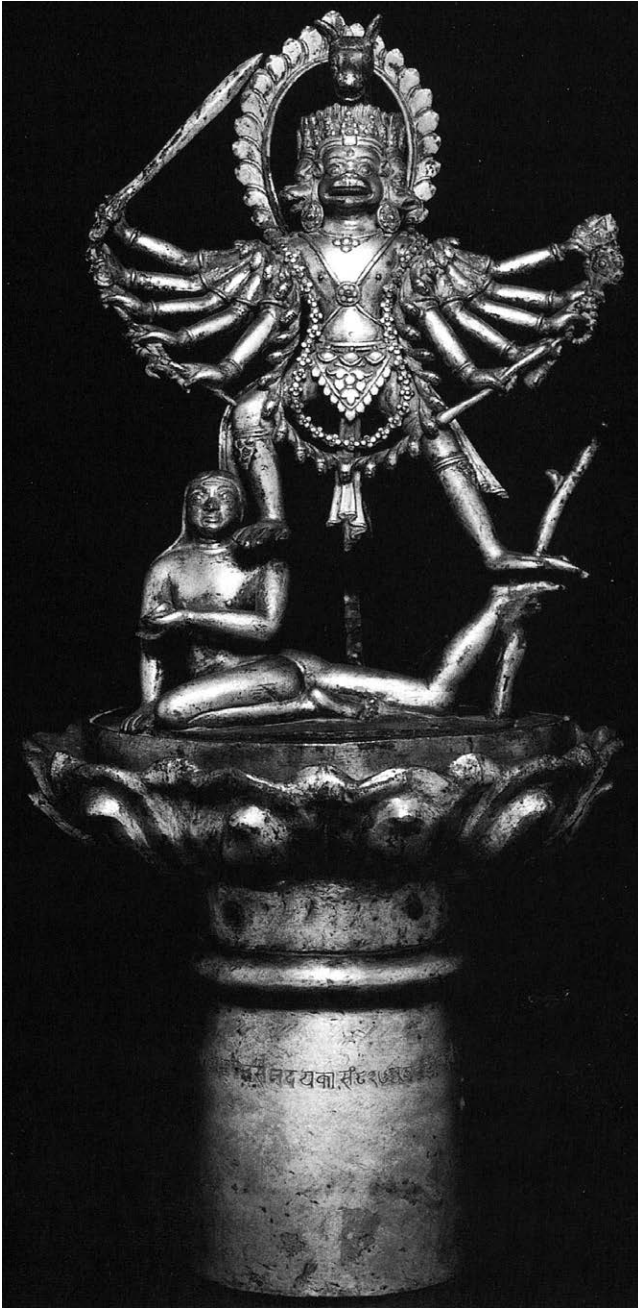
<sup>33</sup> The inscription reads: (*siddhi* sign) *svasti* || śrī 3. *sveṣṭadevatā prītina pāradhvākāsa gajuli chāna koṭayāhuti yajña yānāva* | śrīśrījayaraṇajitamalladevasana *duṭā* || saṃ 874 *pau* va 6 *śubham* ||

Āhail! Out of love for his Thrice-Blessed favourite deity (*sveṣṭadevatā*), the Twice-Blessed King Ra\$ajitamalla set up (this sculpture), after performing a sacrifice with ten million oblations at the time of (the ritual) offering of the finial of P"ladhv"ak" (i.e., the Golden Gate). (Dated N.S.) 874, the sixth (day) of the dark (half) of (the month of) *pauṣa*. Let it be auspicious. The date converts to January 14, 1754.

<sup>34</sup> The sculpture was assigned the accession no. 598 (see SLUSSER 2002: 120). SLUSSER (ibid.) assumed that the sculpture was installed as a guardian on a Bhaktapur rooftop.



**Fig. 16a** *A five-headed Hanumān (Bonhams, March 13, 2017, lot 3049). Dated to N.S. 822 [1702 CE]. Photograph courtesy of Bonhams.*



**Fig. 16b** A five-headed Hanumān (Sotheby's London, April 4, 1990, lot 57). Dated to N.S. 826 [1706 CE]. Reproduced from the catalogue.



**Fig. 17** A five-headed Hanumān, Patan Museum.  
Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.

It is said<sup>35</sup> that the mural of the cosmic form (*viśvarūpa*) of iva in the Fifty-five Windows Palace on Bhaktapur's Darbar Square, which is actually a hidden portrait of King Bh(ṣatndramalla (r. 1696–1722) and his wife completed between 1702 and 1722, features in one of several rows of heads that of the five-headed Hanum"n. However, such detail is difficult to discern in the painting.

The Tantric five-headed Hanum"n was obviously considered an important form of Hanum"n by the Malla kings. The many extant representations from Nepal<sup>36</sup> and the proliferation of devotional texts<sup>37</sup> dedicated to the deity indicate the popularity of this form in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Nepal.

The five-headed Hanum"n is also known as Han(-Bhairava, as attested by inscriptions on paintings and line drawings and in devotional and other texts. The name Han(bhairava is inscribed, for example, on a painting (Fig. 18) in a scroll from Nepal, commissioned under King Jayaprak"ṣamalla of Kathmandu (r. 1735–1768) and dating from 1765, and in line drawings.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Oral information provided by Purushottam Lochan Shrestha on July 19, 2015.

<sup>36</sup> For other sculptures of this form of Hanum"n from Nepal not discussed in this paper, see, for example, DEVA 1984, plate 30A (erroneously labelled Narasiṣha), MISHRA 2014: 59, SLUSSER 2002: 118, 120–121, SINGH 1968: 214 (misidentified as a Ṣmanifestation of VishnuṢ in the caption and on p. 223), Christie's New York 12/1/1982, lot 123 (erroneously labelled as a Tantric form of Ma–juṣṣ), and Christie's New York 3/20/2012, sale 2640, lot 106 (previously in the Doris Wiener Gallery, New York). The stone sculpture of the five-headed Hanum"n installed in a roadside shrine in Pulcok, Patan, which is still an object of worship (MISHRA 2014: 59), is very similar to the one depicted in DEVA 1984, plate 30A; minor details, however, vary. Both representations are without a *vāhana*. A roadside shrine with a statue of a five-headed Gaṣeṣa is located next to the shrine of the five-headed Hanum"n in Pulcok. For a painting of the five-headed Hanum"n, see NAGAR 2004, vol. 3: 128, plate 140.

<sup>37</sup> See the online title list of the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP) for more information on the large number of devotional and ritual texts in manuscript form, including such titles as *Hanū(mad)bhairavapūjāvidhi*, *Hanū-bhairavastotra*, *Hanūbhairavakavaca*, and *Pañcamukhīvīrahanūbhairavastotra*.

<sup>38</sup> For a line drawing inscribed Han(bhairava (ṢHan(bhailavaṢ, see, for example, BLOM 1989: 21, Fig. 22 and B†HNEMANN 2013: 471, Fig. 17. Note that in the drawing the topmost head is labelled *sarā* (for *salā*, Newari: horse) and not ṢnakeṢ as noted in BLOM 1989: 22.



**Fig. 18** A five-headed Hanumān labelled “Hanū-Bhairava;” painting from manuscript 10054 in the collection of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Varanasi. Photograph courtesy of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan.

One of three copperplate inscriptions<sup>39</sup> at the Tathun"sa; (also called N"sadyo) Temple in Bhaktapur 𑀓 Kv"tha5 dau area records the dedication of a wooden tympanum to Han(bhairava in 1713. In the context of religious ritual, the worship of the five-headed Han(bhairava (*hanūbhairava-pūjā*) became an integral part of the Tantric Navar"tra rituals, being embedded in the Kaum"r"p(j".<sup>40</sup>

The name Han(bhairava indicates that in Nepal Hanum"n began to be considered a Bhairava and underwent a transformation similar to that of the epic hero Bh\*masena who became known as Bh\*mabhairava in seventeenth-century Nepal.<sup>41</sup>

In this paper I focused mainly on the Hanum"n worship under royal patronage in mid-seventeenth- to mid-eighteenth-century Nepal. The visual

<sup>39</sup> The text of the inscription is published in R) J) 1999: 15, no. 26 and is also referred to in GUTSCHOW 2011, vol. 1: 73 in his description of the temple. The inscription records as the date of the tympanum Sunday, the full-moon day of the bright (half of the month of) *śrāvaṇa* in N.S. 833, which converts to Sunday, August 6, 1713. This tympanum is no longer extant.

<sup>40</sup> I would like to thank Alexis Sanderson for this reference (e-mail message dated February 23, 2015). See also n. 23.

<sup>41</sup> I have discussed Bh\*masena 𑀓 transformation into Bh\*mabhairava in B† HNEMANN 2013.

and textual material from this time provides a window onto the socio-religious milieu in the late Malla period. There is clear evidence that Hanum"n had gained considerable importance as a guardian deity. The amalgamation of the five-headed form of Hanum"n and Bhairava as Han(bhairava is a specific Nepalese development of this time.

Artistic representations of the five-headed Hanum"n are also found in India, where a few specimens have been dated to the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.<sup>42</sup> However, more research is needed to confirm the dating of the material. The representations from India usually do not exhibit the fierce (*ugra*) traits of the Nepalese manifestation. A prominent devotee of the benevolent five-headed form of Hanum"n was the South Indian Madhva saint R"ghavendra Sv"m\* (1595–1671), a contemporary of King Prat"pamalla of Kathmandu.

In recent decades Hanum"n has evolved into a widely worshipped deity in India, and some popular god-posters and monumental statues of him also feature the Tantric five-headed form.<sup>43</sup> The Indian diaspora opened the first temple of the five-headed Hanum"n outside South Asia in leased premises in Torrance, California, in 2012. The influence of this trend can also be seen in Nepal, where a seven-foot-tall statue of a benevolent five-headed Hanum"n was set up in the village of Chhaling on the Telkot-Changu Road a few years ago.

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<sup>42</sup> See LUTGENDORF 2001: 273–274, 2003: 81, and NAGAR 2004, vol. 1: 303. Representations of the five-headed form in Rajasthani and Pahari painting appear to postdate the ones from Nepal.

<sup>43</sup> Philip Lutgendorf has discussed the phenomenon in several publications; see LUTGENDORF 1994, 2001, 2003, and 2007.

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